

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 00960 01 OF 02 220051Z

62

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

----- 128933

P 211840Z FEB 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4186

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 3732

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

OECD PARIS PRIORITY 3446

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0960

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR PASSING INSTRUCTIONS FM ORIGIN)

SECSTATE PASS SECDEF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: THE PATTERN OF US-EC RELATIONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE:

THE ISSUE

SECSTATE PLEASE PASS SECDEF

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD

REF: A. STATE 209583

B. STATE 32337 EXDIS

POLICY

SUMMARY: THE RECURRING CRISES WITHIN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
HAVE NOT DETERRED THE NINE FROM DEVELOPING AN INTER-GOVERNMENTAL
SYSTEM FOR COORDINATION OF THEIR EXTERNAL POLICIES. IN
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 00960 01 OF 02 220051Z

FACT, THE VERY INTRACTABILITY OF THE PROBLEMS OF CONSTRUCTING
A EUROPE BASED ON "COMMUNITY" PRINCIPLES HAS DRIVEN THE NINE
TOWARDS INTER-GOVERNMENTAL TEMPORIZING "SOLUTIONS". THIS
DEVELOPMENT HAS INTRODUCED A MAJOR NEW FACT BOTH IN US-EUROPEAN

AND INTRA-EUROPEAN RELATIONS WHICH IN THE MISSION'S VIEW WILL PERSIST DESPITE THE RESULTS OF THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE.

WE THUS WELCOME THE DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST FOR COMMENTS ON THE "BROADER PATTERN" (REF B) AND ARE TRANSMITTING SEPARATELY OUR VIEWS ON THE PATTERNS AS WE HAVE SEEN IT. AS PART OF ITS PREPARATION FOR NATO'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY MEETING THIS SPRING, WE HOPE WASHINGTON WILL BRING TOGETHER AND REVIEW ALL THE FACTORS THAT MAY GOVERN THE FUTURE EVOLUTION OF THIS POTENTIAL POLITICAL BLOC WITHIN THE ALLIANCE,

AND TO PREPARE POLICY OPTIONS FOR DEALING WITH IT. THE ENERGY CONFERENCE BORE USEFUL LESSONS FOR THE US WHICH SUCH A REVIEW SHOULD INCLUDE, PARTICULARLY THE VALUE OF PERMITTING OTHERS OF THE NINE TO INTERACT WITH FRANCE ON POLICIES FAVORED BY THE US, RATHER THAN OUR SIMPLY RELYING ON ONE OR TWO BILATERAL REALISATIONS TO ACHIEVE US GOALS. ANOTHER LESSON IS THE WILLINGNESS OF MOST ALLIES TO BE PERSUADED BY CLEAR AND RATIONAL EXPOSITIONS OF U.S. VIEWS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN RECENT YEARS THE NINE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES HAVE TRIED TO ACT MORE AND MORE AS A BLOC IN THEIR EXTERNAL POLITICAL RELATIONS. THIS HAS HAPPENED, DESPITE RECURRING ECONOMIC AND MONETARY CRISES AMONG THE NINE AND THEIR NOTABLE AND NOTICEABLE LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE COMMUNITIES. INDEED, IT MAY HAVE HAPPENED, IN PART, BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS. THIS MISSION ANTICIPATES THAT THE PROCESS OF EC-9 INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COORDINATION WILL CONTINUE, DESPITE THE RESULTS OF THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE.

2. WHILE THIS COORDINATION HAS NOT BECOME A DECISIVE FACTOR WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, IT HAS NOT BEEN DEVELOPING IN A SATISFACTORY WAY:

--IN THEIR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS, THE NINE HAVE CHARACTERISTICALLY BUILT WHAT SOME OF THEM CONSIDER "SUCCESSSES" ON REACTIONS TO OR ON DIFFERENCES FROM US VIEWS (E.G., MIDDLE EAST SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 00960 01 OF 02 220051Z

POLICY, "DIFFERENTIATION" IN US-EC AND ALLIANCE DECLARATIONS, INCLUSION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN CSCE).

--IN THE DEFENSE FIELD, MOVEMENT TOWARD COOPERATION AMONG THE NINE IN AN EC CONTEXT HAS BEEN ESSENTIALLY CONVERSATION, WHICH HOLDS OUT LITTLE HOPE THAT GREATER EC-9 ASSERTIVENESS IN THEIR EXTERNAL POLITICAL RELATIONS IS LIKELY TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY A PROPORTIONALLY GREATER WILLINGNESS TO ASSUME ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE DEFENSE FIELD

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECDEF.

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 00960 02 OF 02 220048Z

70

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

----- 128905

P 211840Z FEB 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4187

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 3733

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

OECD PARIS PRIORITY 3447

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 0960

EXDIS

SECSTATE PASS SECDEF

3. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE MAY HAVE SOME LONGER-TERM EFFECTS ON THE CURRENT TREND OF THESE CONSULTATIONS. WE MAY FIND IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE CONFERENCE A SITUATION IN WHICH FRANCE GAINS EVEN GREATER INFLUENCE. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT FRANCE COULD PLAY SUCCESSFULLY ON THE THEME THAT THE NINE HAD DESERTED FRANCE AND NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND--OR USE CONFRONTATION TACTICS TO GOOD EFFECT--AND FORCE FIRST THE UK AND THEN THE FRG BACK INTO LINE. IN THIS EVENT, THE NINE COULD AGAIN BEHAVE TOWARDS THE US INCREASINGLY AS A POLITICAL BLOC OVER WHOSE DECISIONS WE COULD EXERCISE LIMITED INFLUENCE. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT COULD LEAD IN TURN TO A DANGEROUS MUTUAL DISILLUSIONMENT WHICH MIGHT FIND WESTERN EUROPE POLITICALLY FRACTURED, ALIENATED FROM THE US, AND MORE VULNERABLE TO SOVIET MANIPULATION.

4. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT, COMING ON THE HEELS OF ALL OF EUROPE'S OTHER PROBLEMS AND THE GROWING PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THOSE PROBLEMS, THE EVENTS SURROUNDING THE CONFERENCE COULD SERVE AS A CATALYST TO DRIVE THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NINE TO
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 00960 02 OF 02 220048Z

THE CONCLUSION THAT THEY CAN AND SHOULD MOVE AHEAD AND NOT BE DERAILED EACH TIME THE FRENCH TAKE AN ILLOGICAL POSITION. THERE ARE CLEAR SIGNS THAT AT LEAST SOME IN THE NINE FEEL THAT FRENCH BEHAVIOR IN THE CONFERENCE AND SUBSEQUENT FRENCH AWARENESS OF IT PRESENTS AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FOR THE EIGHT BOTH TO DEVELOP UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH OFFER PROSPECTS FOR GREATER SUCCESS

IN THE FUTURE AND TO ATTEMPT TO GET TO THE BOTTOM OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH FRANCE AND HOW IT CAN ADVERSELY AFFECT THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES.

5. SPECIFICALLY, WE MAY SEE A GREATER WILLINGNESS BY THE EIGHT TO GO AHEAD TOWARD SENSIBLE GOALS, WITH THE FRENCH IF POSSIBLE, WITHOUT THEM IF NECESSARY, RATHER THAN ALLOWING THE VIEWS OF THE EIGHT TO BE BENT TOWARDS IRRATIONAL FRENCH POSITIONS SIMPLY FOR THE SAKE OF UNITY AND THEN FIND THAT ALL THEY HAVE ACHIEVED IS UNIFIED IRRATIONALLY. IT WILL SOON BE EVIDENT WHETHER THE EIGHT ARE WILLING TO TAKE THIS COURSE. IF THEY DO, IT WILL PROBABLY BE BASED ON A

CALCULATION THAT FRENCH LEADERSHIP, FROM ITS OWN DOMESTIC POLITICAL STANDPOINT, CANNOT AFFORD TO BE SEEN IN FRANCE AS BEING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND AGAINST ITS EC-9 PARTNERS EVERYDAY OF THE WEEK.

6. WHICHEVER WAY THE PROCESS OF EC POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS MOVES, US BEHAVIOR CAN STILL SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCE ITS PATH, AS THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE DEMONSTRATED. BECAUSE OF THE US INFLUENCE MAY, IN FACT, BE GREATER THAN IT HAS BEEN IN RECENT YEARS AND IS LIKELY TO BE ONE OR TWO YEARS HENCE.

7. TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE US HAS A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF HOW WE WISH THIS RELATIONSHIP OF THE NINE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE TO DEVELOP. US DECISIONS ON THE LONG-TERM SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WE WISH TO HAVE WITH AN EMERGING EUROPE WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT EFFECT ON EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION AND US-EC POLITICAL RELATIONS NOT ONLY IN THIS DECADE BUT BEYOND.

8. USNATO HAS EXAMINED VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THIS PROBLEM AND IS TRANSMITTING BY SEPARATE CABLES A SERIES OF MESSAGE ON THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS:

SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 00960 02 OF 02 220048Z

A. AN ASSESSMENT OF THE TRENDS IN EC-9 POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS.

B. THE NON-IDENTITY OF "EUROPE" AND THE NINE (USNATO 0911).

C. AN ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT DEFENSE COOPERATION AMONG THE NINE, AND OF EUROGROUP ACTIVITIES (USNATO 0916).

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THIS MISSION IS ALSO TRANSMITTING A MESSAGE ON NATO STRATEGY AND TACTICAL NUCLEAR DOCTRINE.

9. WE SHOULD CAREFULLY REVIEW THE DIRECTION IN WHICH WE WISH US-EC RELATIONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE TO TRAVEL IN THE YEARS AHEAD. US BEHAVIOR GENERALLY AND, SPECIFICALLY, US STATEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY WILL HELP TO CHART THIS COURSE AND PROVIDE GUIDELINES FOR OUR FUTURE

POSTURE TOWARDS THE NINE IN THE ALLIANCE.

10. IN MY VIEW THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE WAS AN EXAMPLE WHERE THE UNITED STATES PROVIDED LEADERSHIP, AND INSTEAD OF RELYING ONLY ON A BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH FRANCE, ALLOWED AND/OR ENCOURAGED FRANCE'S EIGHT PARTNERS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES TO INTERACT WITH THE FRENCH IN A WAY THAT MOVED THE RESULT TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES' VIEW. US POLICY CAN MOST OFTEN BE ACHIEVED IF IT IS IMPLEMENTED IN A MANNER WHERE THE UNITED STATES TRIES TO WORK WITH ALL MEMBERS OF THE FIFTEEN AND OF THE NINE, INCLUDING FRANCE, AS WE WORK TO HEAD OFF POLICIES WHICH, WHETHER INTENDED OR NOT, COULD LEAD TO A DISAFFECTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

11. ANOTHER LESSON IS THE VALUE OF EFFECTIVE PRESENTATIONS OF U.S. VIEWS. SEVERAL ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES HAVE OBSERVED THAT THE U.S. PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE, PARTICULARLY THE SECRETARY, PUT FORWARD U.S. PROPOSALS SO CONVINCINGLY AND LOGICALLY THAT THEY WERE WILLING TO SHIFT THEIR POSITIONS ON THE SPOT. THIS EXPERIENCE, IN MY VIEW, SUPPORTS THE SECRETARY'S CONTENTION THAT IN

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 11 JUN 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 FEB 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974USNATO00960
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: USNATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740270/dckcsaa.tel
Line Count: 236
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: MY
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: MY; SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 1974 STATE 209583, 1974 STATE 32337
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 MAR 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <01 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 19990813; <DBA CORRECTED> jms 19990818
Subject: THE PATTERN OF US-EC RELATIONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE: THE ISSUE
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
To: STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
DUBLIN
MOSCOW
TOKYO
VIENNA
OECD PARIS
EC BRUSSELS

GENEVA PRIORTY

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005